

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 06518

E.O. 11652:GDS
TAGS: PARM, CCD
SUBJECT: SPECIAL SESSION OF UNGA DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT
(UNSSOD) AND PREPCOM DOCUMENT

REF: USUN NEW YORK 01624

FOR VANCE AND WARNKE (FOR DELIVERY OPENING OF BUSINESS
MONDAY, MAY 1) FROM FISHER

1. WRAP-UP REPORT (REFTEL) IS ACCURATE REFLECTION OF WHAT
HAPPENED AT UNSSOD PREPCOM V. THIS TELEGRAM, HOWEVER, IS
FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING CERTAIN SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS
WITH RESPECT TO DECISIONS THAT SHOULD BE MADE IN ORDER TO
ADVANCE U.S. POLICY INTERESTS AT UNSSOD. IT IS BASED ON
THE ASSUMPTION THAT A CONSTRUCTIVE OUTCOME OF THE SSOD
WOULD BE IN U.S. INTEREST AND THUS U.S. COULD ACCOMPLISH
THIS PURPOSE BY MAKING INITIATIVES WHICH ARE NOT ONLY
REGARDED AS FORTHCOMING, BUT WHICH ADVANCE ITS NON-
PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES.

2. I BELIEVE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT PRESIDENT CARTER COME
TO UNSSOD IN PERSON TO DELIVER UP-DATED REPORT ON ARMS
CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS AND, HOPEFULLY, PUT FORTH NEW
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INITIATIVES INDICATED BELOW. THIS WILL SET A TONE THAT
WILL BE VERY IMPORTANT FOR THE SESSION. MY PERSONAL VIEW
IS THAT HE SHOULD PROBABLY APPEAR AFTER THE NATO MEETING
RATHER THAN BEFORE TO AVOID CONCERNS OVER TAKING POSITIONS
ON ISSUES THAT MIGHT BE SUBJECT TO NATO NEGOTIATION, BUT
THIS IS NOT CRITICAL.

3. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT REPRESENTED BY BRACKETS IN INTRODUCTION, PREAMBLE AND DECLARATION PRESENT SERIOUS DANGER TO U.S. INTERESTS AS ALL SEEM TO BE IN THE REALM OF THE NEGOTIABLE.

4. I DO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT US POSITION IN PROGRAM OF ACTION IS DEFICIENT IN HAVING PRACTICALLY NO U.S. INITIATIVE. WHILE INITIATIVES ARE NOT NECESSARY JUST FOR THEIR OWN SAKE, I BELIEVE U.S. INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES, WOULD BE ADVANCED IF THE PRESIDENT COULD STATE THAT U.S. IS PREPARED TO INSTITUTE IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF ITS FORMER POSITION ON THE CUT-OFF OF THE PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS FOR PURPOSES OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS BUT WAS PREPARED TO INCLUDE WITHIN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS BREZHNEV PROPOSAL ON NON-PRODUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ALSO, I BELIEVE U.S. INTERESTS WOULD BE ADVANCED BY PRESIDENT'S STATING U.S. WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE NON-USE SECURITY ASSURANCES EITHER ALONG LINE SUGGESTED BY U.K. WHERE NON-USE PLEDGE ONLY APPLIES TO NPT PARTIES NOT IN ALLIANCE WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES OR ON BASIS OF ALTERNATIVE WHERE NON-USE PLEDGE TO NPT PARTIES WOULD APPLY ONLY WHEN NOT INVOLVED IN REPELLING ARMED ATTACK CARRIED OUT IN CONCERT WITH A NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE. NON-USE ASSURANCE APPEARS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT FOR NON-PROLIFERATION OBJECTIVES AS MANY STATES HAVE TAKEN POSITION IT IS NOT REASONABLE
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FOR U.S. TO URGE OTHER COUNTRIES TO SIGN NPT WHILE NOT BEING PREPARED TO CONSIDER SUGGESTION THAT WE AGREE NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST THEM.

5. I AM AWARE THAT THE ISSUES IN PREVIOUS PARAGRAPH ARE CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION IN USG. THIS TELEGRAM, HOWEVER, IS FOR PURPOSE OF EMPHASIZING THAT THIS CONSIDERATION BE PUT ON HIGH LEVEL BASIS FOR PROMPT DETERMINATION AS TO POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES AT SSOD.

6. I DO NOT REGARD PROBLEM OF NEGOTIATING MACHINERY AS SERIOUS EXCEPT TO EXTENT THAT DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO MACHINERY MAY INVOLVE PROBLEMS WITH USSR. NONE OF THE CHANGES (INCLUDING CERTAIN RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ABOLITION OF CO-CHAIRMANSHIP) WOULD ADVERSELY AFFECT U.S. INTERESTS ALTHOUGH BELIEVE DETAILED DISCUSSION ON CO-CHAIRMANSHIP AT WARNKE-VANCE-DOBRYNIN LEVEL, IN VIEW OF IMPOSSIBILITY OF RATIONAL DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR LIKHATCHEV IN GENEVA, WOULD BE ADVISABLE TO AVOID TENSIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE USSR WHEN THE CRUNCH COMES ON THIS ISSUE AT UNSSOD. VANDEN HEUVEL

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